177 For information on acculturation, especially for instances of cultural borrowing and adaptive modification of introduced elements, see entire source.

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Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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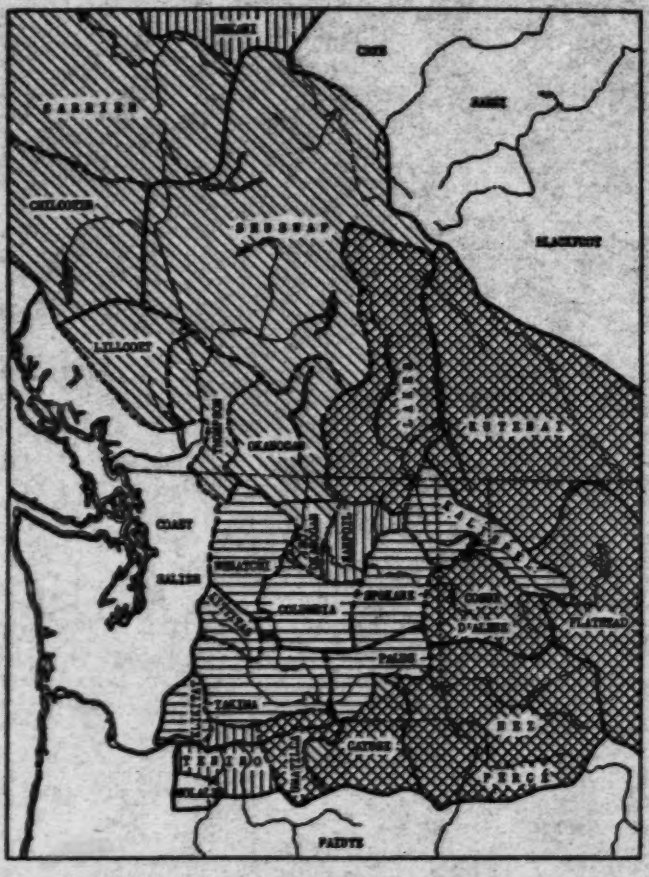
village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



MAP 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

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council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[14]

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Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé, while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more important with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

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[14] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 242 f.

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Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[15]

[15] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

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This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

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But the parallels with the north must not be under-emphasized. An underlying Plateau unity is very probably present, despite the impressive differences upon which the classification above is postulated. The formal standards mentioned are largely concerned with war activity and the evaluation is in terms of typical Plains coups. The obviously borrowed nature of this complex and the persistence of a tendency to heredity suggests that at an earlier time the southern and northern areas were one in recognizing a loose heredity with definite selection in the hands of the people.

It is highly improbable that the hereditary component of this complex was borrowed from coastal cultures of recent form. Spier has properly emphasized the direct correlation between wealth and rank, and chiefly heredity, on the Coast. Heredity in chieftainship was probably an outgrowth from the wealth-rank complex in its emphasis upon inheritance. In the Plateau wealth and rank are virtually absent. Further, chiefly heredity gives the appearance of respectable antiquity there. In view of these considerations the reasonable conclusion is that the principles of heredity are independent in the two areas. Or, very possibly, the principle as phrased in the Plateau may at an earlier time have characterized both that area and the Coast.

The Sekani fall quite outside these patterns.

> Each band had a leader, who was neither hereditary nor elected, but acquired his position through force of character, skill in hunting, and sane judgement. His authority, therefore, was merely nominal; he was a leader, not a chief; and if he presumed to issue orders, he had no means of enforcing them. When the hunters discussed their affairs over the evening fires and laid their plans for the morrow, the voice of the leader carried more weight, but no more actual authority, than that of the youth who had just entered the ranks of manhood. At any time a new leader might arise and supersede him.[28]

It was noted above that riches and political power are but very slightly correlated in the Plateau. The chief is everywhere, except among the Klamath, known by a distinctive term of address which designates him as a political official. Naturally this term is not applied to his family, nor are they set apart from the rest of the community by virtue of the man's office. Even among the Lillooet this is true, although the chief holds his office by reason of being born to the chiefly lineage. Distinctive insignia are assumed by chiefs of the Umatilla,

[28] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

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War leadership, the other important aspect of Klamath chieftainship, likewise shows Plains linkage although the relationship is probably quite indirect or largely categorical. In the southeastern Plateau, however, the war function is at least equally emphasized, in this case more directly reflecting Plains influence. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Flathead, certain chiefs are recognized exclusively as war leaders and these hold their positions whether war is actually in progress or not. The whole relationship between war chiefs and peace-time or political chiefs is very much confused. However, in at least some instances the political chief leads the war party, either individually or in company with the war chief. Of major importance is the insistence of informants that the war chief is not just any accomplished warrior, but a definitely recognized individual with a publicly approved record of coups. It is highly probable that the war chief is also political head of the tribe, but that the chief of a village is a political officer without war functions.

Among the Canadian Plateau Salish and the Chilcotin, war leadership and chieftainship are quite divorced. The war leader is merely an accomplished warrior selected for the occasion. If the political chief should qualify he is quite eligible to the position, but this is rather seldom the case. The political chief wields greater power here than to the south. His word carries great weight in council and the average person seldom questions an edict of the chief. On the other hand, the chief does not often act on important matters without consulting the council.

The Carrier chief enjoys power superior even to this. Those who oppose him may be threatened with slavery, though such a threat is seldom carried out.

The chief's spokesman, mentioned above, is characteristic of the south and central Plateau, save the Klamath.[21] In Canada the Lillooet have this officer, but in other groups he is lacking. The Lillooet speaker may be a direct borrowing from the Coast, rather than from the American Plateau. Among the Kutenai and Flathead the herald takes the place of the spokesman, as might be anticipated adjacent to the Plains. The spokesman and herald should not be contrasted too greatly; their functions definitely overlap. Both carry the words of the chief to the people, but sometimes in quite different fashion. The spokesman is essentially a repeater; he stands beside the chief and relays the words

[21] Spier, *loc. cit.*, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[32] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[33]

The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[34] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[32] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[33] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.
[34] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Déné*, p. 202.

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mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[25]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[26] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[27]

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[25] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 23 f.
[26] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[27] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression. 177 183

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions. 554

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38] 554 565

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather 177 554 565 621

[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

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simple reinterpretations. The recency is attested not only by the limited distribution but also by the existence of the "nobility of merit," an anomaly in a class society. This is obviously a concession to persisting Plateau social standards. Teit observes that

> it is quite evident that this clan organization must have a common origin with that of the Coast Salish. . . . We may safely conclude that the clan system was introduced through intercourse with the coast tribes, who, in their turn, seem to have adopted it from their northern neighbors.[a]

This would also be true, by implication, of class distinctions.

Similar conditions exist among the Shuswap. The western groups have recently adopted sept and class organization, while the eastern bulk of the tribe has retained typical Plateau social culture. In this case the period of adoption is very recent and quite definite.

> The organization of the [Fraser] Canyon division, and all of the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek, was based upon the system obtaining among the Carrier and Chilcotin. By 1850 the Lake division had also adopted this system in nearly all its details, and the Dog Creek band was very much influenced by it. At the same date the Pavilion band had adopted several features of a similar system prevailing among the Lillooet, and the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by it also. The Indians state explicitly that these customs were introduced through the Canyon division, who had obtained them from the Chilcotin, and through the Soda Creek band, who had adopted them from the Carrier; and in these bands the system had its firmest hold.
>
> The people of these bands were divided into three classes—noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendents," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population. In most bands there were few slaves; some of them the property of the nobility, and some that of the common people. The nobles had special privileges, and generally married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Women of this class appear to have been on an equality with men, and had in all respects the same rights and privileges. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.[a]

This reconstruction exemplifies well the history and conditions of adoption of coastal class and sept concepts, not only by the Shuswap,

[a] *Idem*, p. 254.
[a] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 575 f.

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but by the Chilcotin and Carrier as well. The borrowing is in all cases very recent, but somewhat earlier among the Athabascans than the Shuswap. It was in all cases superficial. Deep-seated Plateau standards have been maintained in one way or another. The "nobility" may include two-thirds of the population; a parallel "aristocracy of merit" may permit all men to be in effect upperclassmen; all may hold slaves; slaves are few; women maintain their equality; "special privileges" are said to exist but are hard to find.

It appears unnecessary to go over this same ground for the Chilcotin and Carrier. At least some of the latter never adopted sept organization. But all appear to entertain notions of class, somewhat more fundamental than among the Salish. Morice has indicated the recency of these concepts among the Carrier, while Goldman has ascertained that comparable organization among the Chilcotin is of quite recent adoption.[43] For the Sekani, Jenness provides specific dates:

> When the Sekani were confined to the western side of the Rockies through the hostility of the Beaver and the Cree they impinged continuously against the Gitksan and Carrier Indians, who were organized in the complex manner so characteristic of the Pacific coast. The Sekani not only fought, traded, and intermarried with them, but assimilated many of their customs and tried to adopt their divisions into exogamous matrilinear phratries. . . . The Sekani of McLeod lake . . . quickly abandoned the attempt. . . . The Finlay River Sekani, on the other hand, seem to have been intriguing with the phratric system for nearly a century. . . . They first attempted to establish phratries about 1850.[44]

In contrast to their southern neighbors, however, the adoption of phratries by the Sekani did not involve the adoption of class stratification. Any such concept remains quite foreign to them.

Very different notions of social status are found on the eastern border of the Plateau. From the Kutenai to the Nez Percé a man's war record fixes his social ranking. This record is based upon arbitrary acts, or coups, in typical Plains fashion. Each coup is objectively indicated by a notch on a stick, a mark on a man's white horse, or in some similar fashion. These are displayed as obviously as possible so that all may be made aware and kept aware of one's standing. Furthermore, formal recitation of coups is a common practice upon social occasions. The most significant aspect of this ranking is its relation to chieftain-

[43] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 201 ff.; Irving Goldman, oral information.
[44] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 46 f.

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It is probable that those more kindly treated lived much the same life as any poor Klamath. Apparently they are not killed at funerals. Raids for the specific purpose of taking slaves are more prominent than among any other Plateau tribe, excepting perhaps the Carrier. Many of those taken are resold among the Tenino or at the Dalles. Considerable numbers are involved, both in local holdings and in trade.[52]

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Almost all slaves either held or traded by Plateau peoples are of non-Plateau nativity, except in the extreme north. Teit makes the categorical assertion that "There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at the Dalles or elsewhere."[53] In other statements, however, he modifies this; in the holdings of the Coeur d'Alêne "a very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest but they were generally bought back. . . . There are several cases of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead]."[54] My own informants, Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, Kalispel, and Flathead alike, failed to corroborate these assertions. Of the Shuswap, Teit writes, "numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends."[55] The Lillooet, of course, are not wholly interior, geographically.

> The Shuswap and Upper Thompsons seldom captured slaves from each other; but when this did happen, they were taken back by force of arms, purchased by their friends, or, after some years, allowed to escape. Formerly there were many Lillooet slaves among the upper divisions of the [Thompson] tribe.[56]

Teit provides information suggesting that interior Salish are not uncommonly taken as slaves by the Sekani and Cree.[57]

In general, then, slaves held within the Plateau are extra-areal in origin; this is more consistently true in the south than in the north. Southern slaves are dominantly of Shoshonean affiliation; a secondary source is the Coast, especially the coast of Oregon. Most slaves from the Coast reach the Plateau via the Dalles market. The Klamath obtain the bulk of their slaves from northern California, particularly the Pit River area. As a consequence of trade many of these reach the Dalles

[52] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 27, 39–41.
[53] Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 122.
[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 158.
[55] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 536.
[56] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 269.
[57] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 547, 551.

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567 and become widely dispersed. In the north, most slaves come from the Coast, especially the Lower Fraser region. Quite a number are of Athabascan origin. Third in importance as a source are the Lillooet. Slaves held by the Athabascans are of local as well as outside origin. The Carrier alone make slaves of their own orphans. The Kutenai occasionally obtain a slave or two from the Lakes. To what extent the Salish hold Kutenai slaves is unknown.

The outside origin of Plateau slaves is directly correlated with friendliness within the area. Throughout the central region relations are so thoroughly harmonious that the taking of slaves is unthinkable. In the north this is true to a lesser but considerable degree. It does not at all apply to the Athabascans, or Athabascan relations with the Salish. Since slaves must come from the outside, those areas most accessible and least capable of defense are raided.

Several factors suggest that slavery is recent in the Plateau and atypical to it; or, if not recent, of minimal significance until recently. The Carrier and Sekani are excepted, as participating in quite another tradition. First, the distribution is significant: slavery is unknown to the most central region, and but meagerly developed in the remainder of the area except among those western tribes in close contact with the Coast. These groups not only give greater emphasis to slavery, but treat their slaves in a manner typical of the Coast. Slavery among other Plateau peoples is hardly deserving of the name considering the mild and even kindly treatment the subjects receive. The Shuswap are somewhat more severe than their southern neighbors, though the institution itself is not of great significance to them. This is consonant with their exposure to the Thompson, Chilcotin, and especially the Carrier.

The Wishram and Klamath are the most impressive slaveholders of the area. Yet Spier judges Klamath slavery to be largely a development subsequent to the acquisition of the horse.

> It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.[88]

[88] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 90.

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It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles. 177/567

WARFARE AND PACIFISM

General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are implicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale. 181/721

Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 79 f.

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[88]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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628 band or village toward which their venom is directed, not the Shuswap, for example, as a whole and indiscriminately.

The Carrier and Chilcotin participate somewhat in this pattern of warfare, but the Carrier, particularly, have been much influenced by the Coast—note the importance of the shaman discussed above—and also by the Shuswap with whom they are in fairly intimate contact and whose war parties they sometimes join.

Southern Warfare

177 721 Warfare in the southern Plateau and among the Kutenai has little in common with that of the northern region. All information available today pictures the typical Plains war complex among all of the combative tribes except the Klamath. Those tribes participating in the Plains tradition with little or no modification are the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla. The Plains pattern is wholly obvious but slightly modified among the Yakima, Klikitat, Columbia, and perhaps the Tenino.

721 There is reason to believe that these tribes were distinctly less warlike prior to the adoption of the Plains pattern. The Columbia, and perhaps even the Klikitat and Yakima, may have leaned toward the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism. But it is equally certain that the Wahila, Cayuse, and Nez Percé engaged in martial conflict at a much earlier time, and thus possessed an antecedent pattern. This early warfare saw the Sahaptins arrayed against a common enemy, the Shoshoneans. Sahaptin informants declare that this antagonism, and consequent conflict, has existed from time immemorial. The Tenino and Umatilla have been allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Bannock and Paiute, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. This situation, with its well defined alliances and long-standing hostilities, made for a very different type of warfare from the raid-like activities in the north. It is true that marauding parties took advantage of these antagonisms to gain approval for their acts, but in the larger exploits ethnic pride and prestige were involved. Individual glory was sought at the same time, but this motive was secondary until Plains influence was felt. Even thereafter the exploits were directed against the traditional enemy; personal glory might not be achieved at the expense of traditional bonds of friendship. Engagements were on a relatively large scale; considerable preliminary preparation was involved. Long distance marches were made to meet the enemy. Open

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it resembles that of the Klamath, with modifications reminiscent of the Coast.[71]

Plains-type Warfare

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No other element borrowed from Plains culture is more conspicuous in the Plateau than the Plains war complex. Yet information is exceedingly scanty, especially with reference to the conduct of the war party. About all that can be discussed here are the more objective features such as counting coup.

As noted above, the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla are the tribes which adopted Plains-type warfare to the fullest degree. It is beyond question that this adoption came subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. This statement should be taken literally; that is, the adoption was subsequent, not contemporary. It has been generally assumed that the horse carried the complex, as it were, done up on a pack on its back. The evidence today indicates that the horse came to the Plateau from the south, not the east (see above).

Indirect evidence pointing to recency of adoption of the war complex is plentiful, but need not be reviewed here.[72] The most conclusive evidence is the complete awareness by the natives of the borrowing, both as to time and source. Any Flathead, Umatilla or Kutenai man of advanced age can supply details, often heard directly from the lips of members of the two or three preceding generations who were consciously instrumental in the borrowing. Even today the Yakima obtain some of their regalia for war dances directly from Plains tribes.

Formal war honors are counted by the Umatilla, Kutenai, and Flathead, and probably by the Nez Percé. Spinden is silent on the subject in his description of the Nez Percé, but indirect evidence is supplied in a statement by Ross. In describing a Nez Percé war horse he says: "The horse was a pure white. After painting the animal's body all over, and drawing a variety of hieroglyphic devices, the head and neck were dappled with streaks of red and yellow."[73] It is probable that some of these marks recorded coups, inasmuch as the Umatilla record coups in exactly this manner. No other Plateau tribe than these recognize coups, with the improbable exception of the Yakima and Klikitat.

[71] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 228–35.

[72] See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 225, 235; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 359 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 227 ff.; Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, *passim*; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 61 f.

[73] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, p. 307.

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like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[81]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[82]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

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Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[83]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[81] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[82] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[83] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, p. 264.

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In the Plains the coup is one of a number of graded war honors of a highly arbitrary and formal sort. Sometimes the term coup is applied to any war honor of the series; in more limited usage it is applied to the act of touching with the hand, or with an object held in the hand, some portion of the body of an enemy.[71] Other commonly recognized war honors include killing, scalping, and stealing a horse.

All of these, and others, are found in the Plateau. The Kutenai and Flathead grade war honors, the Umatilla do not. The same honor may be counted on a single enemy by two warriors in succession; the second is recognized by all tribes to be equal in value to the first. In addition, the Flathead alone admit four such honors in succession, but the second pair is of less value than the first. This practice is associated with an institution of "war brothers;" the individuals paired in counting honors thereby establish this ceremonial friendship.[72] The following honors are recognized by the three Plateau tribes: coup upon living enemy, killing, taking enemy's bow, stealing enemy's horse. Scalping is practiced by the Umatilla and Flathead, not Kutenai. The latter substitutes cutting the enemy's hair. Coup may be counted upon the slain enemy by Kutenai and Flathead, not Umatilla. Untethering an enemy's horse receives honor among Umatilla and Flathead.

Only the Flathead use coup sticks for striking and for recording honors. The Umatilla make marks on blankets or horses. The Kutenai keep records but the method is uncertain.

The Plains practice of limiting honors to either two or four specifically defined acts is not seen in the Plateau. Regarding successive counting by various warriors, two and four as above, are Plains patterns, but neither is found near the Plateau. The adjacent Crow and Blackfoot recognize one only. The Crow set apart certain acts of unusual bravery as ungraded but superior to any on the scale.[73] The Kutenai do likewise, in this case with respect to one act, that of killing the enemy chief unaided.

Within the Plains itself the distribution of war honor details is irregular. This, and adjacent Plateau irregularity, are probably the result of the unusual mobility made possible by the horse, and consequent widespread travel and intercourse.

[71] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 426–30.
[72] Cf. Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 65.
[73] Smith, *loc. cit.*

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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat ti[illegible] with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

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177 This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains
535 and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau
721 at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native
787 rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

[722] While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party car-
727 ries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

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A victory dance deserving of the name is found only in parts of the American Plateau, and among the Kutenai. Informal gatherings occur among the Shuswap and Carrier, and perhaps others, upon the return of a victorious war party, but these are scarcely more than spontaneous expressions of joy. It is interesting that the Shuswap treat the scalp as a guardian spirit and the so-called scalp dance is a simple religious ritual. "It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is" in the bear ceremony, Teit observes.

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In the American Plateau two historic levels can be seen in the victory ceremony. One level is quite late in time and the ceremony is wholly Plainslike in character. The dance of the earlier period is more typical of the Plateau, but coastal influences are perceptible. This earlier dance is found among the Wishram, Klamath, and Coeur d'Alêne; and, in modified form, the Kalispel. In the time of Alexander Ross (*circa* 1810) the Nez Percé were participating in it. Perhaps they had already adopted the Plains dance and the two existed side by side, as was the case with the Coeur d'Alêne. However it was not long before the Plains dance became the exclusive form with both, as with the Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai.

The Wishram victory dance

> took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge.[32]

No mention is made of captives participating in this dance, but they play an important role in the similar dance of the Klamath.

> The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. . . . They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance.[33]

Similarly, among the Nez Percé the captives are made to dance and are severely maltreated by the women. The captives themselves must carry the scalps on poles. The concentric circles are absent here, be-

[32] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 232.
[33] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 34.

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coming parallel lines with the captives between two rows of women, and outside of them rows of men. The Coeur d'Alêne dance was identical, according to Teit.[94]

Several points of contrast with the Plains-type dance may be anticipated. The Plateau type is commonly held at night, though this was not true of the Nez Percé, perhaps because of early Plains influence. In the latter area the dance is typically a daytime affair. Both men and women dance in the Plateau ceremony, but in the Plains-like ritual only the women dance and only the men sing and drum. The Plateau dance is held whether deaths have been suffered or not, and perhaps even when victory is problematical. Furthermore, Klamath women begin the dance by crying, even though no Klamath have been killed. In the Plains, and in Plains-like dances in the Plateau, either of these practices would be inconceivable. Of the Plains dance, Smith asserts:

> Inevitably, the victory dances expressed the group's feeling of triumph and superiority. They were occasions of "wild rejoicings," festivities "to which all came and enjoyed themselves," celebrations of "uninhibited triumph" in which all was "individualism, all exultation and triumph."[95]

Compare with this the Klamath attitude:

> quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. . . . They fast or at least eat no meat or fish. This is the tabu that the Klamath impose *during every crisis*.[96]

Obviously the one ceremony is conceived and executed in a very different spirit from the other.

Teit provides a description of the Coeur d'Alêne victory dance of the Plains type which well exemplifies that of the general area (Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé?, Umatilla?).

> The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been

[94] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. I, pp. 310 f.; cf. Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 266; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 190.

[95] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 451.

[96] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 33. Italics mine.

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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

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To the east and west of the Plateau highly contrasting attitudes are observed. In the Plains almost no attention is given to the attainment of puberty. The region does not stand alone in this respect, but is merely one with the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains. On the Coast, however, the occasion is utilized as the basis, or sometimes merely the excuse, for dramatic and rigid ritualization.[100]

It is difficult to see why the Wishram fail to participate in the ceremonial richness of either the Klikitat, on the one hand, or the Coast on the other. Wishram contacts with the Coast are closer, in general, than those of any other southern Plateau group. Furthermore, coastal elaboration did not miss the mouth of the Columbia. The Lower Chinook extend puberty observances over a period of five months. Apparently the Wishram in this case cling to the Plateau pattern with more than usual tenacity in the face of outside influence.

It is even more certain that the Flathead and Kutenai are maintaining a typical Plateau pattern against Plains indifference. Both tribes occupy considerable territory on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and have not been at all hesitant in accepting many aspects of Plains culture. But in this instance both continue to give ritual attention to the achievement of puberty. The situation is quite different with respect to observances linked with subsequent menstrual periods. The Flathead and Kutenai, together with their Plains neighbors, pay no attention whatever to these occasions. The woman is neither isolated nor subjected to any restrictions. In only one other place in the Plateau is this attitude repeated; that is the Wishram. The eastern cases are readily accountable in terms of adjacent Plains custom, but the Wishram are completely surrounded by tribes that both isolate the woman and restrict her actions at this time. This negative attitude is in keeping, however, with the slight attention given to puberty. Also, the Klamath, some distance southward, are rather indifferent toward these periods. Women belonging to a shaman's household are isolated, but perhaps not others. The Klamath do not affiliate with their neighbors to the south in this respect, for isolation is common in northern California.[101]

Since the ceremonialism of the first period is generally an elaboration upon the behavior pattern of each subsequent menstruation, the latter may well be considered as a basis for the discussion of the former. This of course does not apply to the Wishram, Kutenai, or Flathead.

[100] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 314 ff.

[101] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f.; Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

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quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together: a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.[108]

Specifically, among the Wishram, the duration is five days during which a dance is held each night. On the final evening the girl appears decorated with bead necklaces. These and other gifts are distributed among the guests.[109]

The Klikitat ritual is considerably more elaborate. Both the round dance and the abreast dance are performed. The girl stands in the center and sings but does not dance. The songs are "women's songs" or "love songs." The deer hoof rattle and hand drums are used. Gifts are distributed during the dancing. When a gift is displayed a dancer desiring it raises his hand in indication. Upon receiving it he dances about holding it aloft. A feature of the ritualism is a symbolic washing of the girl by her grandmother. The dances last for five nights and are repeated at a later time.

Among the Klamath the girl herself dances throughout the night. The guests both dance and sing. The girl dances with downcast eyes. The hairdress is related to that encountered before; the braids are arranged to form two clubs which are bound with braided cords. Buckbrush bands are worn around the neck, wrists, ankles, below the knees, and around the waist.[110]

General

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The groups just discussed clearly affiliate with others who practice partial isolation coupled with a dance of notification, as depicted by Spier. This includes northern California and the southernmost coast of Oregon. But the remainder of the Oregon coast lacks the dance. The Tillamook are a possible exception. In describing the observances by the Tillamook girl, Boas states, "Sometimes she would dance during the night." Barnett questions the presence of the dance of notification,

[108] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 318.
[109] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.
[110] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70.

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even though suggested by his own data. The Lower Chinook hold a simple one-day dance for friends, on the fifth day, at which the girl is not present. At the end of five months of isolation another ceremony is held in which the girl makes her appearance and takes part in the dancing and singing.[111] 177 881

This distribution suggests that the dance may have diffused northward from California along the Cascades rather than along the coast. The Klikitat would represent the northernmost point reached. From the Klikitat and the Wishram the dance may well have filtered down the Columbia Valley, reaching the Lower Chinook and modifying slightly the Northwest complex already present there. Immediately to the south, the Tillamook were even less influenced.

This Northwest complex has likewise been phrased by Spier.

> In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.[112]

Obviously, the Oregon practices and those of the Northwest are not mutually exclusive. The giving of presents (Wishram, Klikitat, Northwest) and the duration (Lower Chinook: five days isolation, ceremony at end of five months) may be mentioned. This represents true overlapping of local specialties, not common participation in universal elements. Just so, the Plateau practices show affiliation at some points with the Northwest, at others with northern California. Yet two sub-areas may be delimited on the basis of dominant ritual characteristics.

The Canadian Plateau Salish stand out most clearly. The period is one of long duration during which strenuous activity is continuous. The motivating factor is training and the insurance of good health and strength for the future. Magical acts toward this end are numerous. The isolation and activities are away from the village, preferably in the mountains. The girl spends her time alone; she is visited when necessary by a proctor, usually her mother. A period of purification ends the isolation, but there are no activities that may be construed as notification.

[111] Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, p. 6; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 181; Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 71 f. [112] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 317 f.

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The long duration is reminiscent of the Coast, but in this case it is a period of enforced activity; on the Coast, restricted activity. The coastal proctor remains close at hand; the girl remains in the village. Guardian spirits are obtained at this time by the Plateau girl, but this is incidental to the isolation and training.

In the southern Plateau, as noted above, the ritual is essentially an elaboration of the menstrual tabus. Occasion is taken to impress upon the girl the deep significance and potency of menstrual uncleanliness. Old clothing is worn; hair dress is specified; food tabus are emphasized; isolation is complete; the duration is short, conforming to the pattern number five, sometimes doubled. Guardian spirits may be obtained; again this is incidental. Purification is simply by bathing. No notification is involved.

A few elements of widespread distribution in the West now demand attention. The girl's face is hidden or her gaze held averted by a visor, large hat, mat or basket, from central California northward on the coast to the Tlingit. This practice filters into the northern Plateau, where a conical hat of twigs is worn, but is absent to the south. Bands are worn around the joints among the Klamath and sporadically on the Coast. This custom is not found in the Plateau but may be related to the widespread Plateau practice of wearing such bands after mourning. The stooped posture of the Coast is found in even more emphasized form in the northern Plateau. Nowhere in the area does the girl characteristically recline, as on the Oregon coast. The elevated platform on which the Kutenai girl sits is suggestive of the plank on which the Tillamook girl must squat, but the parallel is perhaps superficial. The path of poles and the twining of the fingers of the Kutenai appear unique. The repetition of the observances at a following period is found most characteristically in northern California, is absent in the south central Plateau, but recurs among the Flathead, Kutenai, Shuswap, and Lillooet. The two last cases may be the result of recent shortening of the initial period.

Most impressive in distribution are the arbitrary tasks assigned to the girl. The gathering of wood is demanded by many northern California tribes. The Maidu girl, for example, piles logs to no purpose. The Thompson girl likewise gathers firewood, and piles rocks. But the wood gathered is used for fires which the girl builds. On the other hand, wood gathered by the Flathead girl may be appropriated by anyone, and she carries quantities of water whether it is needed or not.

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It was mentioned above that in the Canadian Plateau the girl interminably plucks needles, one at a time, from conifer boughs. Far to the south, the Mohave girl "goes about plucking leaves from arrowweed brush—a perfectly useless labor—merely because she would forever be lazy if she remained sitting in the house."[112] Related practices are found in California.

The scratcher, either stick or comb, appears to be present throughout the Plateau except with the Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, and perhaps the Nez Percé and Wishram. The drinking tube is much less common, being used only by the Klikitat, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Kutenai, and Flathead (uncertain: Nez Percé, Wishram).

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

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Clear-cut distributional differences are found in the Plateau with respect to disposal of the dead. The forms are numerous: inhumation; cremation; deposition in boxes, in baskets, on elevated platforms, in trees, in small elevated houses. Cremation occurs in the extreme north and south. Among the Carrier and the Klamath it is the exclusive form, except that Carrier children are sometimes buried in baskets. The Chilcotin, Shuswap, and Thompson practice cremation under certain circumstances, and the Coeur d'Alêne very rarely. Tree burial is utilized for permanent disposal by the Lower Thompson; for temporary disposal by the Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan, and Lillooet. The Lower Thompson also employ boxes and small houses as containers for the corpse. These are always elevated, sometimes in trees, sometimes on a platform. House burial reappears among the Wishram but in this case without elevation. Basket burial is employed by the Lillooet. Among the other Plateau tribes inhumation is practiced exclusively.

Talus slopes and gravel banks provide the most common sites for burial in the southern Plateau. River banks and islands are frequently used. Quite to the contrary, the Canadian Salish almost invariably sink their graves in soil, preferably loose or sandy soil. There is little consistency in location relative to the village: the Tenino, Klikitat, Lillooet, and Chilcotin prefer sites some distance removed. The Flathead invariably select a spot that is obscure and thus not easily found by enemies who might disinter and rifle the remains. If no such location

[112] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 748.

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turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alène, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 262–64.

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177 796 is near the northern limits of distribution and indicates that Canadian tribes have been quite unreceptive, since knowledge of the elaborations of their neighbors must certainly have penetrated to them. The apparent inferior development of the Spirit Dance among northern Sahaptin

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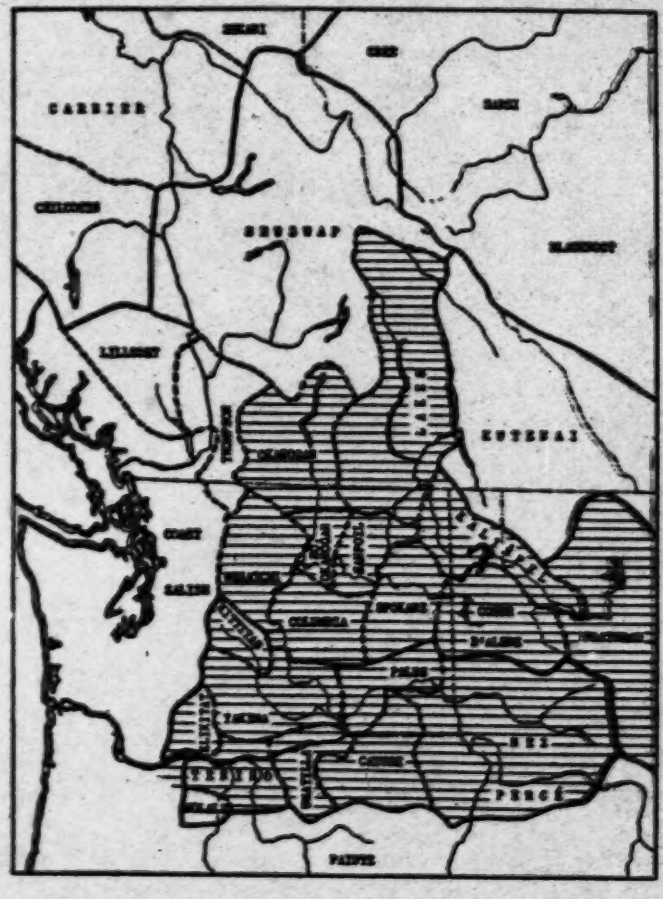

Map 16. The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance.

177 796 tribes may be due to the fragmentary nature of our information; caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. It is quite possible that the dance was equally as well developed as among the Salish prior to destructive Plains influence.

It should be emphasized that the approach in Spier's pioneering dis-

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cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

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Associated Practices

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initiation of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony among certain groups. Spier points out that

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> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.
[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.
[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*.
[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

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with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104]

THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

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In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance.

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

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796 a warrior may call upon the sun for help in an emergency. Sun gazing and self-torture have no place in the ceremony.

Leaving the Kutenai temporarily, we may turn to the Spirit Dance of the Flathead. Impressive evidence points to a relationship with the Sun Dance. There is no question of general classification: the Flathead dance is cast in the general mold of the Spirit Dance and revolves around spirit singing; it is not a Sun Dance. But the suggestive analogues with the Sun Dance—analogues which the Flathead share with many other Plateau peoples—deserve careful attention.

First I shall cite parallels with the Kutenai Sun Dance, abbreviating the references as much as possible. The leader receives his commission in a spirit vision; if more than one man has experienced a vision a mutual discussion ensues and one of the number is selected. A four day preparatory period is followed by a four day dance period. Preparations include daily sweating during which dance plans are discussed, arrangement of the dance grounds, and procurement of the center pole. The leader selects the tree and appoints those who are to bring it in; he dictates the manner in which it is to be cut and warns that it must not touch the ground. The lodge, of the elongated tipi type, is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. The frame is assembled and raised, followed immediately by the setting of the center pole. The poles and covering are taken from several dwelling lodges. At dusk of the same day the leader enters the lodge singing and takes his appointed place. Later the dancers and audience appear and enter in ritual order. The dancers carry whistles. The leader stands at the center pole while the dancers circulate around it. On the fifth and sixth nights, smudges of sweet grass are prepared for the revivification of certain of the dancers (Bluejays). The sick attend the dance and are treated by the leader and other dancers. The curative power at this time lies in the center pole and is merely utilized by the dancers. On the evening of the eighth day the leader announces that "it is time to let the tree go," and dancers are named to take charge of it. The tree is carried into the forest, a secular song is sung, the lodge is dismantled, and a feast concludes the ceremony.

177 796 These parallels, though impressive, do not exhaust the Plateau traits duplicating those of the Sun Dance. We find numerous further analogues among nearby Plains tribes. The Flathead, in common with many other Plateau groups, allow the uppermost limbs to remain on

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the center pole. This practice is unquestionably related to the placing of a brush bundle at the top of the pole by most of the Plains tribes, including the neighboring Crow and Blackfoot. Indeed, the Sanpoil speak of the limbs as the perch for "Owl," analogous to the "hawk's nest" of the Sarsi, the "bird's nest" of the Crow, and the "thunderer's nest" of many of the Canadian Plains tribes. The Plains Ojibwa, at least, do in fact leave the upper limbs as a part of the nest.[105]

A relation is apparent between the raising of a dancer in the fork of the lodge poles or nest in order that he may tie the center pole to the frame (Kutenai and others) and the Sanpoil dance ritual in which the leader climbs the center pole and ties the top to a cross beam with his belt. Also, a connection between this feature and the Bluejay complex can be seen: thus among the Crow it is the "bird man" who is raised; during the procedure he imitates the antics of his Eagle guardian, whistling and pretending to fly. Certain Shoshoni dancers "imitate magpies and rush up to a pile of meat, making the noise of crows or magpies, greedily snatching away what food they can, and falling all over themselves in their eagerness." These actions almost exactly duplicate those of the Bluejay dancers among the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Sanpoil.[106]

The offerings of cloth and other small objects made to the tree by the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Shoshoni, Plains Cree, and many other Plains groups, is likewise paralleled by the Flathead on the last morning of the dance, to the accompaniment of a song of blessing. This corresponds very closely to Blackfoot and Plains Cree practice.[107]

Smudging plays a very important role in the Spirit Dances of Canadian Plateau groups. Among many of these the material used is juniper, as with the Kutenai; but the Flathead and Spokane favor sweet grass, as in the Plains.[108]

Ritual "talking in opposites" characterizes the Bluejay dancers of the Colville and Flathead. The self-torture dancers in the Sun Dance of the Sarsi also speak with reverse meaning.[109] This custom is not by

[105] Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Crow*, p. 37; Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 254; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 191; Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 279; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Ojibway*, p. 313.

[106] Ray, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 399; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Cree*, p. 307.

[107] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249; Goddard, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 403; Skinner, *loc. cit.*

[108] Cf. Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 238.

[109] Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 280; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 162.

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any means limited to the Sarsi, however, being found widespread in the Plains in various connections, and occurs in the Southwest also.

The name applied to the dance by the Flathead is significant; it refers specifically to the lodge itself. The same pattern of naming is found among the nearby Gros Ventre and the more distant Arapaho and Arikara.[110]

Flathead Bluejay dancers are identified by black spots painted on the cheeks and, later, blackened faces and bodies; in this they align with other Plateau Bluejay characters, for all use black face or body paint. The Blackfoot in their Sun Dance follow the specific style of the Flathead, while other Plains tribes use black in a more general way.[111]

Dancing for weather control, as among the Blackfoot and several Canadian Plains tribes, is found universally as a feature of the Spirit Dance in the Plateau. However, this, together with shamanistic curing, may be too general in nature to justify their use as criteria of relationship.[112]

Many other convincing parallels could be added, but those enumerated may serve to indicate the depth and intimacy of the relationships.

Either of two historical interpretations is possible. The two great ceremonies may be regional variations upon one theme, or the two may be basically distinct and the resemblances merely represent superficial borrowings consequent upon long contact. The latter alternative seems the more probable, despite the quantity and impressive nature of the parallels.[113] In most cases these are elements which rather readily lend themselves to separation or addition to the basic ceremonial complex. But it must be remembered that the "basic complex" of the Sun Dance is not easy to define. To a marked degree the ceremony is a concatenation of fairly discrete elements.

The Spirit Dance, on the other hand, is a highly integrated complex with the whole philosophy and content of the spirit concept at its base. Even the Bluejay adjunct is a compact whole thoroughly in accord with

[110] Noted in Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, p. 463. Exhaustive distributions for most of the elements discussed in the present chapter are to be found in Spier's survey.

[111] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249.

[112] Cf. *idem*, pp. 258–60.

[113] This interpretation was suggested and favored by Dr Robert Lowie when this chapter was read before the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at New Haven, December 29, 1937.

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the larger concept.[114] Does this indicate a stability greater than that of the Sun Dance? I am doubtful. The process of interchange has doubtless proceeded but slowly; slowly enough to permit the orderly-minded Plateau peoples to keep pace with rationalization and integration, but steadily enough to produce profound effects. 177 796

[114] See above.

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CONCLUSION

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Certain facts stand out clearly in the light of this survey. The Plateau is seen to possess distinctive character in its own right. Many aspects of culture which are integral to its organization are not to be found in adjacent areas. This indicates both the individuality of the area and the relatively slight influence which the region has exerted upon neighboring areas. This is not to deny the existence or importance of cultural elements of foreign origin. The Plateau has borrowed much from the Coast and it has taken much from the Plains. But the importance of coastal influence has probably been overrated, and diffusion from the Plains is in large part recent and superficial.

In most cases coastal traits have not penetrated deeply into the Plateau. The western fringe of the area has been markedly modified, almost made over in some instances. The Lillooet are an example. But the adjacent Shuswap have retained Plateau culture in almost full measure. The Wishram, adjoining the Coast on the Columbia River, likewise possess a culture with a marked coastal tinge. This might well be expected considering their position and the extent of their intercourse with the Coast as a result of their highly developed commercial activities. It is surprising, indeed, that they exhibit a culture as Plateau-like as proves to be the case. But this coastal aspect does not extend beyond the Wishram. Their eastern neighbors face squarely toward the Plateau; their backs are turned upon even those innovations accepted by the Wishram. The slight degree of class feeling that characterizes the Wishram is wholly lacking among the Klikitat, for example. The latter participate fully in the Plateau ideal of social equality. And yet class distinctions are the major aspect of distinctive Northwest Coast culture typically represented at the mouth of the Columbia River.

The characteristic cultural complexes of Coast and Plateau are surprisingly antagonistic. The matter of class distinctions is the best case in point but not the only one. Warfare provides another example. The coastal peoples are not warlike in the ordinary sense, but nevertheless warfare is ever present, the antagonisms involved are bitter, and the methods utilized are ruthless. What a contrast is presented by the Plateau emphasis upon pacifism! The tenacity of the pacific ideal is illustrated by the Shuswap. The western branch has adopted the coastal attitude to a degree, presumably after prolonged pressure. But the eastern division, in contrast, has clung wholeheartedly to the Plateau ideal.

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The process leading to Plains impress on the eastern Plateau presents marked contrasts with conditions on the opposite border. On the west the coastal elements were received gradually over a long period. A process of amalgamation kept pace with the innovations. But on the east very nearly the whole pattern of Plains culture swept over the adjacent Plateau in one great wave. The result was not transformation, as on the west, but mere superimposition. Strong emphasis upon this point is necessary because the general assumption has been that Plateau culture was eradicated in the areas affected by the process of cultural diffusion from the Plains. It is easy to understand how this impression came about, for the Plains elements give the effect of opaqueness despite their superficiality. The result is a sort of Jekyll and Hyde affair. When the one is observed the other cannot be detected. The objective guise is wholly Plains in aspect; the subjective guise is equally typical of the Plateau. An observer of the midsummer dances of the Yakima or Nez Percé, even today, might well imagine himself in the Plains; but one observing the home life of these same people could never doubt his Plateau locale. There is no question but that an ethnography wholly typical of the Plateau could be obtained as easily today among the Yakima as among the Shuswap. In the preceding pages the Plains stratum has been frequently emphasized, and sub-areal characterizations drawn on the basis of it. There are several reasons for this. In many cases the available data describe only that level of culture. Furthermore, important historical processes are thereby illustrated.

On the whole, the Plateau has been more receptive to detached elements of culture than to whole complexes. This might well be anticipated, but exceptions are not infrequent. For example, such a continentally widespread practice as the taking of scalps, in the course of warfare, has failed to gain any considerable acceptance. In contrast, the western regions share with the Coast the whole complex of the pre-war dance for supernatural aid. And again, the tribes of the eastern border of the Plateau adopted a war complex virtually in its entirety, not merely a dance or an attitude pattern. Nevertheless the Plateau maintained its identity. The central areas were wholly untouched; the adoption was strictly local though impressive in extent.

Several cultural sub-areas have been encountered in the Plateau. A longitudinal area along the eastern border (Kutenai to Nez Percé) is particularly prominent. Its basis has been discussed above. This sub-

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area is characterized by a distinct temporal aspect. It almost certainly lacked any marked distinction prior to the coming of the horse. A western sub-area extends the entire length of the Plateau (Carrier to Klamath). This is an outgrowth of a similar process, that is, marginal interchange with an adjacent area. In this case, as in the other, the transfer has been largely unidirectional, inward to the Plateau. But in contrast to the preceding sub-area, this is not temporally qualified. Although extending the entire length of the Plateau, this sub-area is very weak in its middle region. From the Southern Okanogan to the Klikitat the affiliation is dominantly with the central area to the east, but the effect of marginal position is discernible. As might be expected, the strongest identity is at those points where intercourse with the Coast is easily maintained. This is along the great watercourses, the Columbia and the Fraser. The Wishram, Lillooet, and Thompson are the groups most influenced.

The characterization of coastal influence as steady and prolonged applies only south of the Chilcotin. Apparently the coastal innovations in the Chilcotin and Carrier regions are of very recent date and of an overwhelming order reminiscent of Plains inroads in the east. Jenness states that the western Carrier have been so profoundly affected by the Coast that very little remains of their original culture apart from language and emphasis upon hunting. Morice is scarcely less emphatic. The recency of the acceptance may be due to lack of previous contact because of a more eastern habitat. Both Jenness and Morice are of this opinion.[1]

We may now turn to cultural sub-areas of quite different nature. These are lateral in distribution and cannot be interpreted as the result of extra-areal influence, except very slightly and indirectly. Three such areas are clearly defined. The northernmost is composed of the Athabascan peoples: Chilcotin, Carrier, and Sekani. The second has been termed, in this paper, the Canadian or northern Plateau. The third is the American or southern Plateau. The boundary between the last two is roughly the international line. Specifically, the northern area consists of the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Okanogan. All tribes to the south belong to the American area. The Lakes are affiliated with the south in most aspects of culture, while the Kutenai vary but most frequently lean to the north. In a number of phases the Kutenai are unique.

This north-south division is the most definite and distinctive of any

[1] Jenness, *Ancient Education*, pp. 22 f.; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 197 ff.

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in the Plateau. It is encountered more consistently in aspects of religious culture than in other branches, but is unmistakably present in social and material fields as well. The cleavage is pronounced in those elements which are fundamental to Plateau identity, such as social attitudes, religious dances, spirit quest, house types, canoe types, and the like.

The Klamath, far to the south, affiliate naturally with the southern area. The variations that they exhibit are largely reflections of practices of California and the Basin.

Neither the northern nor the southern area may be said to be the more typical of the Plateau. The two present distinctive variations upon certain fundamental Plateau themes; upon others they agree; and each contributes its measure of unique characteristics.

In contrast, the Athabascan area contributes little that is distinctive to the Plateau. It participates in a number of patterns known to the area, but these are of a general nature or appear to be borrowed elements. To this there are a few marked exceptions. A striking example is the unique house type discussed above. A partial appearance of common culture results from the Athabascan and the northern areas participating in similar traits borrowed from the Coast. This appearance vanishes when only typical Plateau culture is considered. A succinct picture of Carrier culture prior to coastal modification is presented by Jenness:

> It is reasonable to suppose that before this change in their culture took place the Carriers were hardly to be distinguished from neighboring Athabaskan tribes; for even today the easternmost Carriers resemble the Sekani tribes to the northward as much as they do their kinsmen around Hazelton, Moricetown, and Babine lake who have been most exposed to west coast influence. If we may assume, then, their original resemblance to the Sekani and other neighboring Athabaskan tribes, the Carriers were formerly divided into a number of loosely organized groups each with its special hunting territory, a territory that was not subdivided again among the different families, but remained the possession of the entire group. Fixed dwellings were unknown; the groups simply wandered from one hunting or fishing ground to another, setting up tents of skin or rude shelters of brush and bark. Inheritance and descent were in the paternal line, there were no caste distinctions, no regular chiefs, and no special class of medicine men. Religious ideas were relatively simple. All living creatures were believed to be more or less endowed with supernatural power, which if rightly solicited they often placed at the service of man.[2]

[2] Jenness, *loc. cit.*

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Clearly this culture is one of marked contrasts with that typical of the Plateau. In religion the general statement here would indicate a parallel with the Plateau. But in details pronounced variance is noted.

The Athabascan area, particularly that occupied by the Carrier and Sekani, must, then, be set apart in the Plateau if not from it. The line of demarcation is a linguistic boundary only if the Chilcotin be included in the northern group. But the Chilcotin are of distinctly questionable affiliation and may be found, upon further study, to align rather with the south.

The linguistic differentiation of the Kutenai finds a slight correlation with general culture. but this seems incidental.

Again, in the American Plateau, a linguistic transition occurs, this time involving the Salish and Sahaptin stocks. The boundary crosses the Plateau laterally about two degrees (180 miles) south of the Canadian boundary. Thus the primary cultural division in the Plateau runs parallel to the primary linguistic boundary, but nearly two hundred miles north of it! The linguistic boundary itself in no way corresponds to cultural transitions, even of a secondary order. The Sahaptin-speaking Kittitas, for example, have far more in common with their Salishan neighbors on the north, the Wenatchi, than they have with their Sahaptin neighbors, the Yakima, on the south.

The crossing of the two longitudinal sub-areas and the two main lateral sub-areas creates a unique situation near the geographical center of the Plateau. Here all influences might blend, resulting in a more or less nondescript culture; or, older and more fundamental traits might persist here since outside influences would be greatly weakened in penetrating this far. The latter alternative appears to fit the case. The Southern Okanogan, Colville, Sanpoil, Lower Spokane, and Columbia may with reasonable safety be viewed as most representative of older levels and fundamental aspects of Plateau culture. A glance at the maps and charts herewith immediately suggests this; the text, I believe, confirms it.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

This classification of cultural subareas must be regarded as highly tentative. For a great part of the Basin no studies by trained investigators have been made. Indeed, it is simpler to cite the detailed researches than to indicate the relatively unknown regions. All of the northern Interior Salish have been reported by James A. Teit but each group has been treated very briefly with the exception of Coeur d'Alene.[14] The Sanpoil and Nespelem have been studied more fully by the author.[15] Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Edward Sapir worked with the Wishram[16] of the Columbia river near The Dalles; their findings throw some light upon the adjacent Klikitat and Wayampam. This meager list exhausts the published data. The results of work with the Southern Okanogan by a number of students, under Dr. Spier's direction, will appear in the near future. Researches with the Lakes and the Umatilla are under way by the author.

It is markedly apparent that much further work is required before other than an hypothetical characterization of the Basin will be possible. With caution, however, a few remarks may be made to assist the reader in picturing the area and in explanation of the divisions suggested. It may be assumed with relative safety that the Central Interior Salish represent the oldest stratum of Basin culture. Though this culture may at one time have been spread over a much wider area, prewhite cultural influences and historical factors resulted in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island. One of the greatest of these historical factors was the coming of the horse. Speaking generally, the Salish groups were much less affected by its advent, and the typical Plains traits which travelled with it, than were the Sahaptins. Except in a few superficial aspects of life the Central Interior Salish, barring the Columbia, remained

[14] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish"; James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (ed. by Franz Boas)" in *Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1930), XLV, 23-396.

[15] Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

[16] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1930), III, 151-300.

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unchanged. The latter group, lying adjacent to Sahaptin peoples, took over the horse and its accoutrements with avidity but had not, even after 1850, lost its cultural identity through submersion by the whole complex of Plains traits.

The Northeastern Interior Salish was the unit of Salish most influenced by the horse culture complex. A further partial basis for their cultural differentiation lay in the characteristics of their habitat. The western boundaries of these groups roughly coincided with the line of transition from desert to upland country, while eastern boundaries fell well into the Rocky Mountains. Among many resultant cultural differences was the absence of salmon as the economic staple together with all associated traits. (Bear in mind that no such environmentally based difference existed between the Sanpoil and the Umatilla, for example.) The environmental factor played an even greater role in the culture of the Lakes. Their territory, extending far into the Canadian Rockies, consisted largely of long mountain ranges enclosing narrow valleys with precipitous sides. Navigable rivers and lakes lay within each of these interconnected valleys making canoe transportation highly feasible but any other type of travel scarcely possible. Horses of course were never accepted. Obviously the life led in such a habitat differed greatly from that of the desert-dwelling peoples to the south. The very fact that in spite of these environmental differences the Lakes maintained many typical Basin traits demands that culturally they be considered essentially Basin peoples.

The principal traits upon which the Cascade Interior Salish are separately classed are the same ones which link them with their Coast Salish neighbors. Thus normal trans-mountain intercourse easily accounts for the identity of this unit.

Turning to the Sahaptin subdivisions we find both to be characterized by a deep veneer of Plains traits setting them apart from the Salish much more distinctly than from each other. However, the Northeastern Sahaptins have been longer and more intimately in contact with Plains peoples (or those with long established Plains traits, as the Nez Perce) than the

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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northwestern group. This is shown in the culture of the Northeastern Sahaptins by a marked emphasis upon certain peculiarly Plains customs such as that of "counting coups."[17] Thus chieftainship depended almost wholly upon prowess in warfare; indeed social prestige generally was reckoned in like terms.

This degree of emphasis upon Plains values seems never to have been reached among Northwestern Sahaptins though their acceptance of Plains material traits was equally great. Even the latter may not be as deeply imbedded as is apparent on the surface. In support of this view is the recent discovery of a Wanapam village near Priest Rapids on the Columbia river (Wanapam village no. 2) where hardly a trace of white influence is to be seen, but more surprisingly, even less evidence of Plains influence.[18] In all visible respects this village pictures Central Interior Salish conditions of 1850 or earlier. Thus the individuality of Sahaptin subareas is to be judged in terms of depth and integration of Plains overlay, a difference in degree, not in kind.

V.

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Perhaps no aspect of Columbia Basin culture presents more fascinating and yet difficult problems than that of political organization. One of the most valuable results of a survey of native villages and territories is a partial clarification of some of these problems. Wide variations in the scope of the political unit stand out with particular force, though accurate analysis is greatly hampered by present day confusions with linguistic units, arbitrary Indian service administration units, and reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation.[19] But one point is clear: the tribe in any literal sense is absent from a great part of the Basin. In consequence the term tribe has been avoided throughout this paper as a designation for

[17] An explanation of this custom will be found in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., "Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), XXX, pt. 1, 354.

[18] This village was found during search for material for the present paper.

[19] Thus all of the natives now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation, with the exception of the Nez Percé, speak of themselves as "Colvilles" though they belong to many divergent groups.

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Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids.

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes," in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoiga-rik-kah*, *Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54.

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wălă-Wălă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Perces.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 265. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223.

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pshawanwappam bands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac.*

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Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food, and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by the natives to considerable extent.[167]

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.[168] Guns,

[167] Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314–16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May; fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444–5, 340–1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinapoils live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chaudiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30–1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id., Miss. de l'Orégon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles; fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Kliketats; Unis or fresh-water muscles, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamas, berries, salmon. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 408, 413. Kootenais; fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse; fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas; fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 105–6. Tushepaws would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés; beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Sahaptin; gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nicolay's Opp. Trv.*, p. 151; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63–71; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 263–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228–31, 309; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnog., Ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206.

[168] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 548; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 230, 312; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46–7, 128; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197–9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Cox's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

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knives and tomahawks have generally taken the place of such native weapons as these natives may have used against their foes originally. Only the bow and arrow have survived intercourse with white men, and no other native weapon is described, except one peculiar to the Okanagans,—a kind of Indian slung-shot. This is a small cylindrical ruler of hard wood, covered with raw hide, which at one end forms a small bag and holds a round stone as large as a goose-egg; the other end of the weapon is tied to the wrist. Arrow-shafts are of hard wood, carefully straightened by rolling between two blocks, fitted by means of sinews with stone or flint heads at one end, and pinnated with feathers at the other. The most elastic woods are chosen for the bow, and its force is augmented by tendons glued to its back.[169]

The inland families cannot be called a warlike race. Resort to arms for the settlement of their intertribal disputes seems to have been very rare. Yet all are brave warriors when fighting becomes necessary for defense or vengeance against a foreign foe; notably so the Cayuses, Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais. The two former waged both aggressive and defensive warfare against the Snakes of the south; while the latter joined their arms against their common foes, the eastern Blackfeet, who, though their inferiors in bravery, nearly exterminated the Flathead nation by superiority in numbers, and by being the first to obtain the white man's weapons. Departure on a warlike expedition is always preceded by ceremonious preparation, including councils of the wise, great, and old; smoking the pipe, harangues by the chiefs, dances, and a general review, or display of equestrian feats and the manœuvres of battle. The warriors are always mounted; in many tribes white or speck-

[169] The Okanagan weapon is called a *Spampt*. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 318–19; *Ll., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 306–9. 'Ils.....faire leurs arcs d'un bois très-élastique, on de la corne du cerf.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 48; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 486; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 98; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106–7, 233; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 216.

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cully territory, the natives manufacture and navigate bark canoes. Both birch and pine are employed, by stretching it over a cedar hoop-work frame, sewing the ends with fine roots, and gumming the seams and knots. The form is very peculiar; the stem and stern are pointed, but the points are on a level with the bottom of the boat, and the slope or curve is upward towards the centre. Travelers describe them as carrying a heavy load, but easily capsized unless when very skillfully managed.[172]

Horses constitute the native wealth, and poor indeed is the family which has not for each member, young and old, an animal to ride, as well as others sufficient to transport all the household goods, and to trade for the few foreign articles needed. The Nez Percés, Cayuses and Walla Wallas have more and better stock than other nations, individuals often possessing bands of from one thousand to three thousand. The Kootenais are the most northern equestrian tribes mentioned. How the natives originally obtained horses is unknown, although there are some slight traditions in support of the natural supposition that they were first introduced from the south by way of the Shoshones. The latter are one people with the Comanches, by whom horses were obtained during the Spanish expeditions to New Mexico in the sixteenth century. The horses of the natives are

[172] 'The white-pine bark is a very good substitute for birch, but has the disadvantage of being more brittle in cold weather.' *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 296. Yakima boats are 'simply logs hollowed out and sloped up at the ends, without form or finish.' *Gibbs*, in *Id.*, p. 408. The Flatheads 'have no canoes, but in ferrying streams use their lodge skins, which are drawn up into an oval form by cords, and stretched on a few twigs. These they tow with horses, riding sometimes three abreast.' *Stevens*, in *Id.*, p. 415. In the Kootenai canoe 'the upper part is covered, except a space in the middle.' The length is twenty-two feet, the bottom being a dead level from end to end. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 169–70. 'The length of the bottom of the one I measured was twelve feet, the width between the gunwales only seven and one half feet.' 'When an Indian paddles it, he sits at the extreme end, and thus sinks the conical point, which serves to steady the canoe like a fish's tail.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 178–9, 255–7. On the Arrow Lakes 'their form is also peculiar and very beautiful. These canoes run the rapids with more safety than those of any other shape.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328. See *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 35, 187; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 319; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 375; *Heclor*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 208, 214, 223, 238.

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of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of deeds of similar import in white races.

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Kliketat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skynse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Oyn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chilluckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in

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276 All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open, and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

177 231 182 The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

535 square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Percés dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses.
533 *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah*, in constant repetition,....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ho-hą-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 108. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40. *Palmer's Journ.*, p. 124.

276 [188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 288–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 220.

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horse may have contributed somewhat to their present spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 187, 47, 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' Stevens, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Palliser's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 81–2; *Lewis and Clark's Travels*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchere's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

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burial are held most sacred. Mounds of stones surmounted with crosses indicate in later times the conversion of the natives to a foreign religion.[194]

In character and in morals,[195] as well as in physique, the

[194] The Sokulks wrap the dead in skins, bury them in graves, cover with earth, and mark the grave by little pickets of wood struck over and about it. On the Columbia below the Snake was a shed-tomb sixty by twelve feet, open at the ends, standing east and west. Recently dead bodies wrapped in leather and arranged on boards at the west end. About the centre a promiscuous heap of partially decayed corpses; and at eastern end a mat with twenty-one skulls arranged in a circle. Articles of property suspended on the inside and skeletons of horses scattered outside. About the Dalles eight vaults of boards eight feet square, and six feet high, and all the walls decorated with pictures and carvings. The bodies were laid east and west. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 344–5, 359–60, 379–80, 557–8. Okanagans observe silence about the death-bed, but the moment the person dies the house is abandoned, and clamorous mourning is joined in by all the camp for some hours; then dead silence while the body is wrapped in a new garment, brought out, and the lodge torn down. Then alternate mourning and silence, and the deceased is buried in a sitting posture in a round hole. Widows must mourn two years, incessantly for some months, then only morning and evening *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 321–2. Frantic mourning, cutting the flesh, etc., by Nez Percés. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 234–5, 238–9, vol. ii., p. 139. Destruction of horses and other property by Spokanes. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 200–1. A shushwap widow instigates the murder of a victim as a sacrifice to her husband. The horses of a Walla Walla chief not used after his death. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 178–9, 264–5, 277, 289. Hundreds of Wasco bodies piled in a small house on an island, just below the Dalles. A Walla Walla chief caused himself to be buried alive in the grave of his last son. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 184–8. Among the Yakimas and Kliketats the women do the mourning, living apart for a few days, and then bathing. Okanagan bodies strapped to a tree. Stone mounds over Spokane graves. *Gibbs and Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 413, vol. xii., pt. i., p. 150. Pend d'Oreilles buried old and young alive when unable to take care of them. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 211, 238. 'High conical stacks of drift-wood' over Walla Walla graves. *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 157. Shushwaps often deposit dead in trees. If in the ground, always cover grave with stones. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 304. Killing a slave by Wascos. *White's Ogn.*, pp. 260–3. Dances and prayers for three days at Nez Percé chief's burial. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 283. Burying infant with parents by Flatheads. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 173. Light wooden palings about Shushwap graves. *Milton and Cheadle's Northw. Pass.*, p. 242; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 104; *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, pt. iii., p. 85; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 219; *Ind. Life*, p. 55; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 237–8, 260–1.

[195] Sokulks 'of a mild and peaceable disposition,' respectful to old age. Chilluckittequaws 'unusually hospitable and good humoured.' Chopunnish 'the most amiable we have seen. Their character is placid and gentle, rarely moved into passion.' 'They are indeed selfish and avaricious.' Will pilfer small articles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 338, 341, 351, 376, 556–8, 564. The Flatheads 'se distinguent par la civilité, l'honnêteté, et la bonté.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31–2, 38–40, 47–50, 163–74, 202–4. Flatheads 'the best Indians of the mountains and the plains,—honest, brave, and docile.' Kootenais 'men of great docility and artlessness of character.' *Stevens and Hoecken*, in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 281, 284, 290, 300. Coeurs d'Alène selfish and poor-spirited. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 329. In the Walla Wallas 'an air of open unsuspecting confidence,' 'natural politeness,' no obtrusive familiarity. Flatheads 'frank and hospitable.' Except cruelty to captives.